

tainship is not hereditary; the chief, when old or sick, designates his successor from the ablest men of the group. The chief's authority is slight; it depends wholly on the good will of the family heads. 622

Relations between neighboring bands are inspired both by fear and by the desire to exchange goods. Warfare, therefore, is closely connected with barter. Groups not acquainted with each other use ritual speech when they meet. 619 438 ●

Before starting a war expedition, a divinatory rite is performed with special songs and dances. An arrow is hidden by the shaman, the outcome of the expedition being presaged by its appearance the following day. 721 787

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—After the delivery of a child, the placenta is buried in the bush and both parents are subjected to rigid prohibitions concerning food, the use of ornaments, and social contacts. 844

Puberty.—The initiation rite for young men consists of piercing their lips and nose and giving them their adult personal name. At her first menstruation, a girl is isolated for several months in a special shelter outside the village, where she is given ritual food by her mother. At the end of the rite, she takes a long bath in the river; this also constitutes the first step of the marriage ceremony. 881 [304]

Both cross-cousin and avuncular marriages (see p. 367), are often planned by parents for their infant children. Marriage is celebrated by festivals, banquets, and dances. The union is pronounced by the chief. Fish and fishing are important both before and during the ceremony. 584 585

Separation is frequent, the chief cause being that the man seeks a younger and prettier woman. There is no social sanction of adultery, except that the seducer is advised by his companion to go away for a while so as to avoid the husband's revenge. A murderer also flees vengeance. 586 684 682

Death.—Some groups of Nambicuara bury their dead in a circular pit, the corpse being placed in a crouching position. Others leave the corpse to decompose in an elongated ditch and later wash the bones in the river, put them in a basket, and bury them in the village, which is then abandoned. Weapons, implements, adornments, and other property of the deceased are destroyed, but his garden—if he owned one—is abandoned only for a few months. Later anybody may cultivate it. 764

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—Most Nambicuara groups are completely ignorant of drawing, although some groups decorate calabashes with dots and straight and sinuous lines. These are conventionalized reproductions of realistic designs found among other groups. 531

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to grow manioc and sweetpotatoes. He also gave them the flute (sibilika), and taught them how to sing and dance. *Obikakika* is thus the culture hero of the Nambicwara. In human form he looks like a Nambicwara Indian, wears ornaments in his ears, nose, and upper lip and paints himself with urucui. Yet today people no longer see *Obikakika*, for he has gone away. They do not have rituals connected with him, nor do the shamans solicit his aid. But the stone mountain from which the Nambicwara came is still recognized as the place of the dead. On ceremonial occasions the ghosts of the ancestors come to the encampments and villages from the mountain, returning after they have been given food.

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Although every band has a leader or chief it is not quite certain whether these leaders get their positions through succession or by personal strength and prestige. Julio claimed that he is headman because his father was a headman, but the other members of the Waklitin band claim that the strongest man is always the leader by common agreement. The Nambicwara appear to value two qualities in a man—"a strong body" and "a strong mouth." The chief is like a tapir (*akara*) which is the strongest of the animals; thus, a chief is called *akarakikara*. A shaman gains power by talking or by having "a strong mouth," as the Nambicwara say. The strongest man is one who combines these qualities and is at once a strong man and shaman—he becomes an important chief.

The survival of the band, the Nambicwara believe, depends upon the *akarakikara*. He is the hunt leader, the head farmer, the one who organizes trade between the bands, the ceremonial head, the war leader, and the settler of disputes. Every successful chief is supposed to have four wives but otherwise has nothing to distinguish him from the rest of the tribesmen.

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Relationships between the bands of the Eastern Nambicwara are characterized by intermarriage, trade, occasional joint ceremonies, and wife stealing and consequent armed conflicts. Intermarriage occurs when cross cousins are not available for marriage within the band. The Chirikian and Higallian obtain pets from the Western Nambicwara in exchange for wax, feather ornaments, beads, and bows and arrows. These pets they in turn exchange with the Eastern Nambicwara bands for knives, axes, and tin cans.

When one band wants to meet another in order to exchange goods the approach is made in a very formal manner. The approaching band stops

[p. 96 (8)]

619 several hundred yards off and messengers are sent
 438 out to arrange a meeting. When agreement is
 reached the visiting band enters the camp, the
 visiting chief kneels on one knee and holding his
 bow and arrows above his head with his right hand
 he makes a speech extolling the hosts and their
 goods and depreciating the things which his band
 has brought. The host then makes a similar
 speech, and trading begins.

Important items are traded by the two chiefs
 representing their respective bands, while small
 items can be exchanged by individual owners.
 In all cases, however, the technique of trading is
 the same. If an individual wants an object he
 extolls it by saying how fine it is. If a man values
 an object and wants much in exchange for it,
 instead of saying that it is very valuable he says
 that it is no good, thus showing his desire to keep it.
 "This ax is no good, it is very old, it is very dull,"
 he will say, referring to his ax which the other
 wants. This argument is carried on in an angry
 tone of voice until a settlement is reached. When
 agreement has been reached each snatches the
 object out of the other's hand. If a man has
 bartered a necklace, instead of taking it off and
 handing it over, the other person must take it off
 with a show of force. Disputes, often leading to
 fights, occur when one party is a little premature
 and snatches the object before the other has
 finished arguing. The term "boca forte" (strong
 mouth) applies particularly to trading, for a man
 with a strong mouth gets what he wants and con-
 vinces the other that he, too, has made a good
 bargain. This method of trading contrasts sharply
 with that practiced among the Upper Xingú
 tribes where each party places a pile of goods
 opposite the article he wants, usually without
 saying a word. If agreement is not reached, each
 one eventually withdraws his goods.

6M After a satisfactory exchange of goods the two
 573 bands go hunting and prepare a quantity of food
 and dance as long as the food lasts. During these
 meetings marriages are sometimes arranged, but
 more often, when leaving, some strong man will
 try to steal the wife of some other man. If a fight
 should occur in which one man is killed the winner
 will take not only his wife or wives but his children
 and property as well.

619 Rev. L. W. Buckman gave the following account
 which reveals something of the tension between